

## REPUBLICAN DOCUMENTS.

A Presidential Campaign of unusual significance is about to open, in which the Republic will be called upon to choose between Liberty and Slavery. It is the most important election since the Revolution, and the result will determine the future of the Republic. The National Era, in its issue of April 24, 1856, contains a full and complete list of the documents and speeches of the candidates, and a full and complete list of the documents and speeches of the candidates.

The very low price at which they are offered puts it within the reach of every one to add it to his collection. Our list of publications having been too long for a general advertisement, therefore those who are unacquainted with them, and the price of them, will find it best to write to the publishers, who will send them to them in the most convenient manner, and will be pleased to receive orders for them.

L. CLAPHAM,  
Secretary National Association,  
Washington, D. C.  
Papers sent by the National Era will be sent to the publishers by the National Era.

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office, No. 501 Seventh Street, between D and E,  
one square south of City Post Office.

THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1856.

## THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

We propose to issue the National Era for the Campaign, from the 4th of April, to the 1st of November, inclusive, comprising thirty-six numbers of the Era, covering the whole period of the Presidential campaign, election, and returns, for \$1 a copy, in clubs of five or more.

## FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

We would call the attention of the readers of the Era to this monthly publication. It is exclusively Anti-Slavery, containing such articles from the Era as one likes to keep for purposes of reference, and also others specially adapted to circulation among the masses. Its octavo form fits it for being bound, and, at the same time, it is so cheap that a subscriber at little cost can secure additional copies for distribution. As the Presidential campaign is now opening, it is desirable that the work of disseminating facts and arguments on the great question which the People are to be called upon to decide, shall be carried on briskly.

The first volume of the Facts closes with the number issued this week, and the first number of the second volume will be issued the first week in May ensuing. The terms are—

Six copies to one address . . . \$1.00  
Fourteen copies to one address . . . 2.00  
Fifty copies to one address . . . 6.00  
Postage, six cents a year, or three cents half yearly, on each copy, to be paid in advance, at the office of delivery.

We hope orders will be sent in immediately.

## WHO WANTS A CHEAP DOCUMENT?

Our readers will recollect that so great was the demand for our old series of Facts for the People, that the surplus edition left it, after the supply of regular subscribers, was soon exhausted.

We have now to announce that, having on hand about 3,000 copies of the first volume of Facts for the People, (just closed,) we have had them stitched and bound in paper, and will send them, free of postage, to any who may order them, for 25 cents a copy. The work forms a neat volume of 192 pages. It contains—

"A Decade of the Slave Power"—complete in ten chapters.

Dangers of Slavery Extension—Slaveholders a Privileged Class—Growth of our Negro Aristocracy—being a speech delivered by Gov. Seward, in Albany, October 12th, 1855.

The Politics of Justice, Equality, and Freedom—being a speech of Gov. Seward, delivered at Buffalo, N. Y., October 19th, 1855.

American Politics—a speech delivered by the Hon. George W. Julian.

Speech of the Hon. John P. Hale, on the President's Message, relating to Kansas.

Editorial Comments on the same Message.

History and Philosophy of the Struggle for the Supremacy of the Present House of Representatives, with a classification of votes.

Letter of Francis P. Blair to the Republican Association of Washington.

Sectionalism and Republicanism—An Editorial Review of a Letter from the Hon. D. C. Barnard, of New York.

A Synopsis of the Slave Code in the District of Columbia.

Besides all this, the volume presents a comprehensive view of the Know Nothing movement and its bearings; accounts of Kansas affairs, and of the slave cases that have arisen during the last twelve months, and a thorough discussion of the Republican movement, and the true policy of its supporters.

In no other Publication, of the same size and cost, can be found so full a history of the Anti-Slavery movement, and so thorough a discussion of its great facts, as in this cheap and convenient volume.

## TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the Senate, sundry petitions were presented; and then the pending Bounty Land Bill was again taken up, and was considered various amendments proposed to it. "In the House, after referring a few Executive Department communications, which were on the Speaker's table, they again took up the Deficiency Bill, and proceeded to vote on agreeing to the Senate's amendments thereto which were not thus disposed of on the day before.

## EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE ERA.

L. A. Chamberow, Esq., 27 New Broad Street, London, England, has kindly consented to act as agent for the National Era in Great Britain and Europe.

## AN ERROR CORRECTED.

PETERBORO, March 23, 1856.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: These Garrisonians and these Republicans cannot understand me. For instance, the Standard, that last evening, says that I would have Congress legislate for the abolition of Slavery; and the Era, that came last evening, says that I would have Governor Chase "repeal the fugitives."

Now, it is to the Judiciary that I look to, to declare Slavery unconstitutional, and thus to abolish it. And what I wished Governor Chase to do, was to capture the kidnappers.

If people would or could read me in the light of my great principle, that there is no law, and no law for Slavery, they would not misinterpret me, and therefore would not misinterpret me, and then I shall stand vindicated. In the mean time, I must be content to pass for a fanatic and a simpleton.

Truly yours,  
GERBERT SMITH.

## TRENTON ELECTION.

Trenton, April 15.—At our city election, yesterday, Joseph Wood, Democrat, was elected Mayor by 230 majority. The entire Democratic general ticket, with one exception, (School Superintendent,) was chosen by about the same majority. The Council is tied.

## THE LESSONS OF SIXTEEN YEARS.

Surveying the politics of this country for the last sixteen years, there are a few great facts which we find it necessary to re-present, and press upon the attention of our readers with an importance that must almost weary them. Still, so important are the lessons they teach, that we cannot permit them to be for a moment lost sight of.

In 1840, two parties struggled for the ascendancy—the Democratic, in possession of the Federal Power, the Whig, seeking it. The main body of the latter, composed of men holding certain views in relation to the political-economical functions of Government, did not put these forth as the issues of the canvass, but assailed their adversaries on general grounds, for the purpose of rallying all sections of the opposition. The Administration was corrupt—profligate—wasteful—change was necessary—surely every patriot would agree that it would be a gain to secure at least a more respectable and less corrupt Administration. This being the policy, the composite party selected their candidate, not from the class of men who had signified themselves by the advocacy of Whig views and measures, for it did not believe the Opposition could be rallied on that basis. It simply sought power, its managers calculating that, were this once secured, they could contrive to use it for the promotion of whatever views they deemed important. Accordingly, the candidate selected was without antecedents in politics; not identified with any of the controversies of principle that had divided parties; against whom nothing could be said politically, because he had done nothing politically; for whom much might be said for distant as to make keen criticism impossible, he had won a respectable military reputation. The Slave Power was then the governing influence of the country, just as it is now; but the two great parties raised no question concerning its pretensions—they stood substantially on the same ground in relation to it, both acknowledging its power by nominations acceptable to it.

Such was the character of the struggle in 1840, when a small body of voters appeared on the stage, challenging the policy of both Whigs and Democrats, boldly arraigning them, overlooking the real evil of American Politics—Slavery. Disunionism arose, and, as long as this Evil was recognized, acquiesced in, and perpetuated by their action, it mattered little, so far as the permanent interests of the country were concerned, which they triumphed. This body of voters, styled the Liberty Party, selected a candidate, representing the policy of antagonism open and direct to the Slave Power, with a firmness and clearheadedness almost unexampled in political warfare, resisted all attempts to draw them into the ranks of the Opposition, and voted for their own nomination. A few thousands against many hundreds of thousands, they were of course stigmatized as visionary and fanatic; but what did the country gain from the triumph of an Opposition without Principles? A President, who died in a few days, and an acting President, who utterly betrayed the cherished policy of the Northern Whigs, but, belonging to the slaveholding caste, initiated the scheme for the annexation of Texas with Slavery, and appointed as Secretary of State the champion of the Nullifiers, who, in his negotiations on the subject, openly rested the policy of annexation on the necessities of the Slave Power. Thus was a movement, carried on without principle, headed by a man without antecedents, advocated merely on the ground that it was necessary to place power into new hands, converted to the uses of Slavery Propaganda. And thus was the wisdom of the few thousands of voters who had resisted both Parties, vindicated.

This is the first fact.

In 1844, the question of the annexation of Texas was fairly before the People. The two Parties again took the field. This time, the Whig Party proper determined to test the force of its peculiar principles, by frankly proclaiming them, and setting up, as their candidate, the man most distinguished for their advocacy. But, blindness still afflicted the leaders. Neither Party confessed the real evil of the country—the domination of the Slave Power—both, composed of Northern and Southern States, Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders, stood pledged to let it alone. But, the Whig Party North was opposed to the annexation of Texas—and the Whig Party South was willing to forego that measure for the present, for the sake of a vote. Mr. Clay, therefore, put himself on compromise ground, and declared opposition to the annexation of Texas, unless it could be accomplished without war, without fraud, without dishonor—discarding, however, all considerations relating to Slavery. "How can you hesitate," urged his advocates upon the Liberty Party, "to support him? Is not his position in all respects preferable to that of his opponent? Surely, here is a practical question. How can you excuse yourselves for not uniting with us, and opposing annexation?" What was the answer? "Henry Clay is a member of the Slaveholding Caste—he is hostile to any abatement of its power—Liberty has nothing more to gain personally from his election, than from that of his opponent: both Parties stubbornly refuse to recognize the real Evil of the country—the success of either will be a positive gain to it; as to this temporary question of Texas, your candidate is opposed only to annexation by fraud or violence, not by peaceful negotiation—if elected, the project will only be postponed, to be accomplished in a manner less calculated to awaken indignation and open the eyes of the Northern People to the usurpations of Slavery."

The Liberty men persisted—they were not to be seduced or bewildered by considerations of temporary policy—fifteen thousand votes cast by them in the State of New York decided the Whig Party that State and in the Union: meantime, they had multiplied twelvefold.

This is the second great fact.

In 1848, the Availability Experiment of 1840 was repeated. The agitation of Slavery had at last, through the efforts of the Liberty Party, contending in every free State, the submissive, servile policy of the Whigs and Democrats, come to influence every election; and the bold, undisguised attempts of the Propaganda to plant Slavery in the Territories acquired from Mexico, gave this agitation a practical form and power it had never assumed before.

Multitudes of voters, who had regarded the Liberty men as visionaries, or who, opened their eyes to the real evil of the country, and acknowledged that it was necessary to deal with it. General Cass, taking the ground that to the People of the Territories belong the right to regulate their own domestic institutions, dodged the issue which before had seemed unavoidable between the demand of the Slave Power that the Territories be opened to Slavery, and the demand of its opposers, that they lie shut against it; and his Party dodged with him. But, as the leaders of the Slavery Propaganda were prominent in that Party, the Whig organization saw its advantage, some of the most distinguished opponents of Slavery being found in its ranks. It, too, could dodge the issue, not by making

a new one, but by ignoring all issues, trusting to double-tongued orators on the stump, to catch Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery voters. Its Philadelphia Convention echoed all declarations of Principle, and nominated a man, with no political antecedents, but invested with no romantic record of victories achieved in the field against apparent impossibilities.

Again, then, the two great Parties stood arrayed against each other—the real evil of the country not being the issue between them, but the being submitted to and exempted from arraignment—the nominations of both being acceptable to the Slave Power, and advocated by its champions.

The Liberty men stood their ground, still assuming that it mattered little to the vital and enduring interests of the country, what Party succeeded, so long as the Slave Power should continue, without question, to govern both, and determine the whole action of the one, and might happen to secure the Presidential prize. But, this time, there were large accessions to its ranks; of Whigs, disgusted by the Philadelphia Convention, of Democrats, alienated by the nomination of General Cass; the former being actuated chiefly by Anti-Slavery feeling, the latter, partly by Anti-Slavery feeling, but, for the most part, by personal animosity to General Cass. The representatives of all classes met at Buffalo, and the Liberty men, obtaining the full ratification of their Principles and Policy, conceded to the Barnburners the nomination: the result was a vote of nearly three hundred thousand. Therefore, the enlarged Party was known as the Free Soil, or Free Democratic Party. Mark—whatever may be the effect of a large majority of the Barnburners, the Liberty men were true to their Policy. Open, Direct Antagonism to the Slave Power. Doubtless, some of them had their preferences as between the candidates of the old Parties, but the adoption of their Policy by the People they held to be of far more importance than the success of either Whigs or Democrats, and such adoption could never be secured, unless they adhered to that Policy, whatever the inducements to abandon it.

How painfully are the availability experiments of 1840 and 1848, assimilated, in the beginning, the middle, and the end! And how marvellously is the wisdom of the Liberty Party demonstrated in the result!

This is the third great fact.

In 1852, the leaders of the old Parties, blind still to the Truth, said the country had acquiesced, and was tranquil—let there be no more agitation. And so, both Parties, through their representatives in the Convention assembled, swore to maintain the Compromise of 1850, to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, and put down the agitation of the Question of Slavery. Both virtually swore allegiance to the Slave Power. The Democracy called back its Barnburners, Whigs, its Conscience Whigs, and men wondered how the old Liberty men, now known as Free-Soilers or Independent Democrats, could be so infatuated as to keep up their one-eyed organization. But, the veterans held their Convention, reasserted their old Policy, nominated candidates representing it, and turning neither to the right hand nor the left, indifferent where their action should be, they stood for the same old Liberty Party.

This is the fourth great fact.

Suppose our Policy had been adopted by the People in 1840, would all these things, could they have happened? But, your old Parties have pandered to Slavery Domination, submitted to be governed by the Slave Power, acquiesced in its successive usurpations, till it seems on the very eve of establishing itself as forever Supreme.

Now, you are alarmed. The Whig organization exists no longer. The Democratic Party in almost every free State is prostrate. The rule of the Slave Power by all parties, demand that the rule of the Slave Power be broken. But, in the chaos, an organization has sprung up, intent upon dodging the real issue of the country, and thus blocks the way of union upon the policy of open, direct antagonism to the Slave Power. We stand where we stood in 1840, and insist upon this, as the only safe and effective remedy.

At one time it seemed as if the masses were ready for it, but political managers, emerging from that newly formed organization, or afraid of its power, with a strange blindness to the lessons of the past, seem inclined to try again the experiments of 1840 and 1848, they would play Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet on their side. They would run the line of their action, aided from the Slave Power. They would place on the retired list the men who have earned curses by confronting and defying it. They would supply their places with men without antecedents, who have taken no part in the agitation of the Slavery question, whose creed and policy on the subject are unknown quantities.

Gentlemen, beware. Four great facts are before you. Possibly, one more fact may be needed to demonstrate that bold and direct remedies are the best; that compromise and evasion can answer no purpose but to bring slavery to Slavery, and weakness and shame to its opponents.

New men are not necessarily dangerous either, but the people are distrustful; they have been too often deceived. They must have guarantees. There are statesmen whose names alone embody the whole creed of liberty, whose nomination would need no platform or declaration of principle to sustain them. But, new men must be sustained by such declarations as shall bind them, beyond a peradventure, to do the will of the people who support them. Unknown men and indefinite issues will not command, as they will not deserve, success. California is a free State. The Democrats, Whigs, and Americans, who, from time to time, have been rallied

## TO OPPOSE ALL PROJECTS FOR CONVERTING IT INTO A SLAVE STATE, ACT FROM A WISE INTEREST; BUT THE SAME PARTIES SEND TO CONGRESS, AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, HUNTER DEMOCRATS, WHO FAVORED THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, SUCH AS COLONEL LANE, ENGAGE IN MAKING A FREE CONSTITUTION FOR KANSAS, BUT WHAT DO THEY UNDERSTAND OF THE OPPRESSIONS OF THE SLAVE POWER; WHAT DO THEY CARE FOR THEM? A MAN MAY BE IN FAVOR OF ADMITTING KANSAS AS A FREE STATE, AND YET UTTERLY INDISPOSED TO ARRANGE OR ACT AGAINST THE POWER THAT SEEMS TO ENLARGE IT. THE KANSAS QUESTION IS A TRANSIENT ONE, MOMENTOUS AS IT IS. WILL ITS SETTLEMENT, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, SUPPRESS THE AGITATION OF SLAVERY, AND GIVE PEACE TO THE COUNTRY, SO LONG AS THE TYRANNY OF THE SLAVE POWER SHALL REMAIN UNBROKEN? LET THE HISTORY OF THE LAST SIXTEEN YEARS ANSWER.

It is possible that the spirit of compromise and conservatism may yet determine the character and direction of the Republican movement. We have long foreseen. Know Nothing has done more for the cause of Anti-Slavery voters, and rendered them more active in compromise. The movement against the Slave Power, as it has grown imposing, has attracted multitudes who regard it chiefly as an instrument for gaining place, and they cannot wait to wait long for the fulfillment of their ambitious aspirations. They invest their capital, with the hope of immediate returns. And even drilled veterans of Liberty, now that they have come within striking distance of success, in the heat of the struggle, are in danger of forgetting that a victory of numbers at the expense of Principle, is worse than a defeat.

The sincere purpose of the masses of the People who have been drawn to the support of the Republican Party, is to do away with the Slave Power, to exclude Slavery from the Territories, and to put the Federal Government on the side of Liberty. They have sustained the movement, because it means all this. Less they will not be satisfied with. If the only object be, to admit Kansas as a Free State, there is no use in organizing a new Party. The old Whig organization, or the Know Nothing Order, would suffice for that. If this be all, if Parties have been broken up, and the country has been convulsed merely to redress a single wrong, leaving in full power, with all its capacities for mischief, the Despotic Interest that has committed it, then indeed has the mountain labored to bring forth a mouse. The People do not so understand it. They intend to put down the Slave Power, and assert their right to use the Federal Government for the establishment of Liberty, and prevent it from being instituted to the extension of Slavery. This is the movement—the reorganization of the Federal Government—is second only in importance to the organization of the Government. Shall the spirit of Conservatism and Compromise betray it in the hour of its strength, on the very eve of its triumph? Who is sufficient for its inauguration? Have we ever thought of the responsibilities of him, who shall be called upon, as its first Representative, to take the place of the Slave Power which has ruled us for nearly half a century? The Presidents, installed by that Power, have always found a beaten track before them, prescribed formulas, routine work. Submission to its dictates has been the unvarying rule, and it was easy; for, like the People, they have been trained in that way.

How different the position of a President elected by the People against the Oligarchy! Representing a Revolution, peaceful, but radical, what a clear view of its nature, its scope, its philosophy, what intimate acquaintance with the politicians and public men of the country, what discriminating views of the relations of the various sections of the country, what accurate views of the Constitution in its bearings on Slavery, what deep insight into human nature, what moderation, calmness, self-control, firmness, courage, wisdom, would be required to reorganize, in all its departments and functions, on the basis of Constitutional Liberty, a Government which has been used for nearly half a century for the aggrandizement of the Slave Interest! Who, again, is sufficient for the task? 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